1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.[1]

At Sulemaniah, the Kürdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harimlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his 'Anabasis', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kardoni kept their wine in ornamental cisterns, bk. iv. chap. 5.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kürdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the classmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kürds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *pasut*, with thin cakes baked in the *tendour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, 271
vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowandus, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found 341
clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing 342
several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the 352
meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

cradle (a more or less perennial necessity for this class), and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to pay more detailed attention to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and landowners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked on three sides by the building with the fourth left open, and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of the house and high brick walls on all sides. These courtyards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it, watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the outside windows of the first storey consist only of small, unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

[i.e. houses of the poorer townspeople. —Ed.]

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [854] 833 864

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first 353 574

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [312] [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [529] [521] one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [784] smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513] [485] sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346 562 of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521] as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 554 346 771

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[1]Hamahori, 1951, pp. 14-17.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the *hammām*, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *hayāṭ* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an [251] iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that rotated on a pivot stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accomodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which [252] was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[39] were [252] built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[40] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taifūr's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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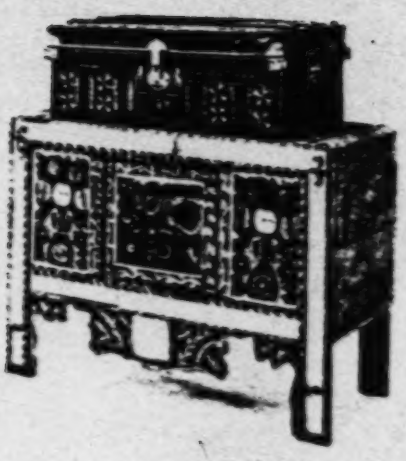

Fig. 27. The chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burāq*. Tegnēwa.

352 decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the
415 house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kʷlīk*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *ṣnūq* (E. 2278). Made in the *sūq* of Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass
[532] front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this
● [513] cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[24].

513 The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of
352 the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There,
342 for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilisation of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalised in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[32], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[33], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular sticking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness where outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the day house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the frame round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, *saj* or *tâwa*, on which the bread sheets, *nân*, was baked were placed on the fire. The sunken fire-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was done outdoors, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent banquet, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house.

4: Hannen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

369 512 representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide- the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside it— the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

[369] [352] [513] [591] [593]

[592] The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

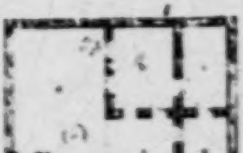

Fig. 31. (Cf. figs. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sulaimaniyah. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, day-room; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e: (foreseen) + 1 f: latrine; g: guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

515 [388] 296 [224]

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths. [824]

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred. 296 [516]

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezi*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sûq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the dust-storm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating. 356 412

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either. 356 513

4: Human. E.S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

All bedclothes and mattresses are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, the outermost being covered by a woollen rug, *hurak* or *jājim*, (E. 2253, 2.80 m. × 1.48 m. brown-striped), or a carpet of Indian cotton with stripes in bright colours (E. 2255, 2.08 m. × 1.15 m.). Some mattresses may be covered with flowered cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor by the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons; or, after the midday meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, covered by a large piece of curtain-like gauze, which replaces quilts and such like at the height of summer.

Working postures. In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kurdistan, where the floor is the place one sits and sleeps, the pattern of movements is quite different from that existing in Western culture.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent to a right angle at the knee, is only met with when working with the pit treadle-loom, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower legs, and when using the treadal sewing machine.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the ironing of clothes taking place on a table in the same way as we use an ironing board.

Apart from this all work is performed by the woman in a squatting posture or in a tailor's position with the lower legs strongly bent. The washing of clothes is performed squatting, whether at the water basin or at a circular, flat-bottomed, metal vessel on the ground by the tap. The same position is adopted when cleaning poultry and cutting meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whether in the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at the vertical loom, when setting up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at the basin or the tap. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of nose and mouth after meals, and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath in the bathroom.

How natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of the sheikh family in Topzawa. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French stone houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here washing up took place in this posture with the china in a wickerwork basket and the washing-up tub on the floor, although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel sink. All meals in this home, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on the floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had to be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the making of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's home at Sulaimani boasted of a wash-basin, complete with tap, built into the wall knee-high from the ground, the women washed themselves in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the wash-basin instead of washing their hands, face and feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down to the ground under their own weight. The overstretched tendinous ligaments in the hip joint[29] allowed the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibility

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with puffed sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete evening or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with sequins: Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [171]

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, th Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the ist always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman then dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffo; voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven wi metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 565 291 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn tosuit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woma of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gol thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with a their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed arethe turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected wit the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of w dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regrd to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to fid a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, on the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern aroque. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded out pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 291 [513] [296] [171]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Whereas Arab elements thus only appear sporadically in Kurdish male dress, certain European elements have been adopted. The first item of genuine Kurdish male dress to be exchanged was footwear. This was replaced by European leather shoes. In replacement of the Kurdish jacket a European jacket with collar, lapels and pocket was seen worn with the Kurdish trousers of the Sulaimani area type. But despite its form, intended to be worn outside the trousers, it was tucked down into them inside the casing and tied round with the long waist sash. Sometimes the original native jacket could be seen influenced by the European jacket to the extent that a breast pocket had been added.

In many cases a European suit had replaced the Kurdish *rāsh-u-rāst* in Sulaimani. With this a European shirt, tie and socks were worn. On the other hand, even under a European suit the baggy Kurdish drawers were retained. This is due to the custom of removing one's outer garments at home. In fact an informal visit to a café could be paid in one's underclothes[84]. Naturally the wide and ample Kurdish drawers were more suitable for this purpose than their European counterpart.

Another European element adopted by more advanced young Kurds is pyjamas (cf. p. 37). As in this cultural pattern one sleeps in the same clothing as that worn by day, pyjamas became a garment that could be worn all round the clock. My interpreter's 26 year old brother rose from his pallet in pyjamas, took his seat in the hired car that was to convey us over the desert to Baghdad, and eight hours later entered an Arab hotel in the main street of that town in the same crossed attire.

In Kurdish male dress pyjamas certainly appeared to be something of an urban phenomenon. In the villages I only saw pyjamas worn by the sheikh's young son at Topzawa. The uncle, the 35 year old Mama Khale, told me that this Western habit was only about 15 years old, and that personally he was no admirer of it as it was so unsuited to the tailor's position whether on the floor or on one of the large, cheesy sofas. The son, Sardar, who favoured pyjamas, on one single occasion also wore a European suit. Apart from that occasion this dress was not worn in the villages.

Men wore no headdress with European clothes. Nor did I see any man wearing European dress taking part in the daily prayers ordained by Islam[85]. However, when men dressed in Kurdish fashion were to pray, they twined the turban cloth around the skull cap if it had been removed, and slipped off their shoes. I did not see them loosen the cuffs of their shirts as women loosen their sleeves prior to the prostrations of prayer[86]. The somewhat too-pointed, black-white or brown-white European shoes, calculated to appeal to the Oriental sense of luxury, constituted—on account of the laces that had to be loosened and tied—a breach of certain traditional habits in the cultural pattern.

Whereas women's clogs, slippers, or low cut European shoes were easy to step out of before walking on the rugs or felt mats in the home, and always lay around in a singularly uncrowned way outside the carpeted area—incidentally being used by all the women of the house in turn, regardless of ownership—men's European shoes were personal property necessitating bending down and loosening laces every time they were to be taken off, and tying when put on. These European shoes thus conflicted with the admirable custom that footwear should never come into contact with rugs and mats. In the same way this kind of footwear made it difficult easily to adopt the tailor's posture on the floor or to draw the legs up under one when sitting in chair or sofa. These shoes therefore constitute a step towards a readjustment of the pattern of movement and sitting habits[87].

Authentic Kurdish male dress[88], in type akin to the Turkish[89], followed the example set by the

[84] [513] stressing that the child was outside adult society. Children were obedient, unobtrusive, polite and industrious. They were never put to bed in the evening (apart from infants), but fell asleep where and when it suited them. If they had been taken by the women on a visit, they fell asleep in the course of the evening, and when the mother left the child was put on her shoulders, hip or arm and carried home. The children of the house fell to the floor when tired, and were covered with whatever happened to be nearest at hand, often a prayer rug of goat's wool. Later, when the adults arranged their own quarters for the night, the children were carried to the mattress on which they were to spend the night. Everybody rose very early, the children when they awoke. Undressing at night was just as unknown to the children as to the adults, and the same applied in regard to the evening or morning wash. [515] During the day the children were caught, given clean clothes, if necessary, and washed. When there was plenty of warm water in the house their hair was washed.

[864] As the children always stayed among the adults they obtained all the sexual instruction they could understand, and became aware of all phases of life. In regard to conditions with Egyptian Arabs about 100 years ago, Lane[78] says that however much children were caressed and fondled, they feel the deepest and most admirable respect for their parents. He adds that disobedience shown to parents is regarded by Muslims as one of the major sins. To round off the picture of the child's life among Kurds, which in the main agrees with Lane's account of conditions in Egypt, a few examples must be cited of children I met who suffered from difficulties of adjustment. This may serve to throw into relief what I have attempted to describe above as the reason why a child with the Kurds had in general a quiet adolescence devoid of psychic strain. Within the village aristocracy, Sheikh Taiffe's youngest, 6 year old, son was cruel to the small birds he carried round in his pockets; he teased the kids and tried to maltreat his donkey. When able to do so he also stole butter from the household store. His father treated him surprisingly gently and affectionately which momentarily restored his balance. But this child, the youngest male offspring, the mother tried to keep at the baby stage, whilst he in vain attempted to compete with his 13 and 18 year old brothers. He appeared to be quite an exception, created by various unfortunate contributory circumstances. That the children of the village tenant farmers attacked one, tried to run off with camera accessories, and showed in the beginning no spontaneous friendliness, must be attributed to the residual xenophobia also evinced by their elders when the European engineers arrived some years earlier to plan the building of the Dukan dam. It was said that from the village of Topzawa, where I came to live and from which workers were later obtained for the construction work, the Europeans had built food upon. The most hostile attitude retained by the children I met with in the mountains near an isolated farm, where some little girls cast stones at me and some boys on the way home with sacks of grass on their backs, threatened me and struck at me with their sickles before I was permitted to pass along the narrow mountain path. In the urban milieu I met a case where a subordinate Kurdish official's wife on an excursion with his superior's wife, married to the Arab commandant in Sulaimani, fearful that her boys had not behaved correctly to the children of the commandant, began hysterically to hit her children who were quite innocent of the alleged offence. It was said that this same woman, who appeared to be very embalmed, got her children locked in at home for varied reasons. [58]

My interpreter and I had her 12 year old half-brother living with her at Topzawa, and later